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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

MAY LEAFLET
The War Program
In Four Pages
Rush In Your
ORDERS NOW!

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304

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1917.

25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS; 50 CENTS PER YEAR; \$1 PER YEAR OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

Morgan Mourns

There is great mourning and gnashing of teeth in Wall Street, especially in the House of Morgan.

Plans are being perfected to have the Entente allies form a war council to handle all of the war business Morgan and his Wall Street aids have been taking care of in the past.

This will bring an end to the tremendous profits reaped by the financial pirates of Wall Street, headed by J. Pierpont Morgan.

It is charged that Morgan has loaned about one billion dollars to the Entente allies.

It is charged that it was to secure this and other loans that the United States, in addition to other reasons, was pushed into this war.

Meyer London, Socialist, charged the other day in congress that the profits of the financial pirates during this bloody business sometimes went as high as 1,600 per cent. In other words, out of every dollar spent in this country, the warring nations got six cents worth of real value. All the rest was profits for somebody.

That seven billion dollar bond issue was too big a melon to be cut up this way without some kind of a protest from the American workers, who will finally foot the bills of this war.

So it is promised to depose Emperor Morgan, financial ruler of America. Good news if true news.

Now let the nation confiscate all of Morgan's income over \$5,000 annually, give him a real job while he is alive and appropriate all of his wealth thru an inheritance tax when he dies. That is one way of getting rid of the Romanoffs of the United States.

Few tears will be shed, we are sure, as Morgan mourns the loss of his war profits. Let this be a start in the fight to take all profits out of war. Then there will soon be an end of war itself.

Circulars were secretly distributed among millions of workers in Germany prior to May Day, May 1, denouncing Field Marshal von Hindenburg's appeal to them not to strike as "the lying message of the idol of the imperialists". It is not hard to discover similar "idols" being used by the "imperialists" of this country.

"Horrors!" Three Times

President Wilson is to be given power to commandeer all shipyards, together with all ships building and laid, either for domestic or foreign contract, in order to combat the U-Boat menace.

He is also to be given power to say that no steel is to be employed in the construction of buildings, bridges or other construction or structural work without his permission.

Horrors! This will certainly interfere with private profits, destroy the home, break up the family relation, smash religion, wreck all initiative, bring on a reign of free love, and do all the other things that the enemies of Socialism have charged against it.

And these are only a few of the powers being turned over to the President. Three times we say it, "Horrors, Horrors, Horrors!"

There is no doubt that the control of the national government over industry will be greatly extended during the next few months, possibly resulting in an extension of government ownership that we little dream of at the present time.

It remains for the Socialist movement to democratize and socialize that control and ownership.

After nearly all the food had been shipped out of the country, and the people were on the verge of rising in revolt, the Swedish government has finally forbidden the exportation of all foodstuffs hitherto permitted. Of course the United States will not profit by the lesson that this action teaches.

A Job For The King!

King George of England, who is supposed to be ruler of a good deal of the remainder of the world, has at last found a job. When last heard from he was spading up a potato patch in the truck gardens of Windsor Castle.

Whether this report is really true or not, it is the first intimation we have had that George has ever attempted any real useful labor.

We suggest that he be given a permanent job raising potatoes. George's activities, even in this war, have shown that the people of Great Britain do not need a king. There is nothing for him to do.

A republic for the people of Great Britain! A job for the king!

Who Wins?

There can be no truce between capital and labor, not even during a war, not even during the kind of a war the United States has declared on Germany.

This in spite of the promises and pledges made by certain labor leaders who are trying to toady to the national administration.

Witness the struggle of the bakery workers in Chicago against the local tentacles of the bread trust. The workers had grievances. Just complaints, that they wanted settled. In order to settle them they went on strike.

Immediately the cry of antipatriotism went up from the yelping jingo press. The United States district attorney was brought in and forced a settlement.

"The settlement was most unfair to us," said the bakery workers.

The agreement is fair to both sides, but a victory for us", said the bakery owners.

Yet the bakery workers would have been worse off if they had not fought at all. They have not given up their right to strike. They will strike again when the opportunity affords.

Surrender of the right to strike, even in time of war, is suicidal to the labor movement. That right has not been surrendered by the workers in any country in war in Europe. Why should the exploiters win the advantage over the workers here in the United States?

Elihu Root, Who Befriended Czar, Can't Represent United States In Free Russia

VICTOR L. BERGER, first Socialist congressman, has rejected proposals made to him that he accept a membership on the commission to be sent to Russia by the United States government.

He declines to serve if Elihu Root, corporation lawyer and big business politician, is retained as head of the commission.

Abraham I. Shipacoff, Socialist member of the New York state legislature, has launched a fight against Root, apostle of reaction, in the halls of the assembly in that state.

So that, if President Wilson will not listen, and recall Root from the head of the Russian commission, the people of this country will gradually learn of America's first crime against Russia's free people.

STILL TIME TO FIRE ROOT.

We hesitate to charge that President Wilson knowingly appointed Root to this position. If he was not acquainted with the reactionary record of this corporation lackey he has yet time to retrace his steps.

Three indictments were made against Root in the New York state legislature by Shipacoff as follows:

That Elihu Root, as United States senator from New York state had introduced a measure purporting to abolish the time-honored and progressive American policy of keeping the doors of this country open for the political refugees of other countries, thus demonstrating his hostility towards the very people who brought about the revolution in Russia and who are now at the head of its government.

That the Constitutional Convention of New York state in 1915, largely thru the influence of Mr. Root, framed a constitution which was defeated by an overwhelming majority of the votes of the people, which incident is further proof of Mr. Root's inability to understand and sympathize with the hopes and desires of a democratic people.

That the whole political career of Elihu Root constitutes a succession of acts and utterances for which he was frequently and justly referred to as the tory of American politics.

When the Socialist attack on Root's appointment as head of this commission began it was announced that the names of the other members of the commission would be given out in a day or two. Many days have now passed and still the other appointments are held up.

It is to be hoped that the next announcement to be made regarding this commission will be that the name of Elihu Root has been withdrawn.

PROSECUTOR OF RUDOWITZ AND POUREN.

It was Elihu Root who did his best to send Christian Rudowitz and Jan Pouren, escaped from the grip of the bloody Czar, back to the land of quick death or cruel exile.

The crime Rudowitz and Pouren had committed was trying to establish the free government that now prevails in Russia. Root was for the bloody Czar and against Rudowitz, Pouren and free government for Russia.

It was the Socialist press, the Socialist Party and the workingclass movement generally, thruout the land, that saved Rudowitz and Pouren, defeated Root and his foul purposes, that foiled the minions of the Czar, that maintained the right of political asylum in America.

In declining to serve on this commission, Berger took the position that working class acquiescence in the appointment of Root cannot be bought with the appointment of a Socialist to this commission.

Root must go or the commission stands discredited in the eyes of freedom-loving America and the free government of Russia.

It is to be hoped that President Wilson will see his mistake. Not that the United States has anything to teach Russia at the present time. But the right kind of a commission might learn much from Russia that would help democratize the industrial autocracy of the United States.

If the president does not recall Root from the Russian commission, the people of the United States as well as of Russia may do some real thinking.

PEOPLE MAY ASK QUESTIONS.

The people might ask, "Has Root been sent to Russia, not to speak for the American people, but as the agent of the money trusts and big corporations of the United States?"

Russia is being sorely tried these days. Its people are passing thru the great ordeal that brings social-democracy out of absolute autocracy.

The Russian people have been plundered for years by the Czar's government. They are poverty stricken. The government is sorely in need of funds. The nation is heavily indebted to the loan sharks of Wall Street.

"Is Root going to Russia as the agent of 'Loan Shark' Morgan, to help collect Morgan's debts and the debts of Wall Street?" the people may ask.

It is rumored that it was Mr. Bacon, formerly of the state department, and more formerly of Morgan & Co., who suggested Mr. Root to Mr. Wilson. It is pointed out that it was Mr. Bacon who was escorting Mr. Root when both of these gentlemen were recently stopped at the White House by a secret service man.

It was the robbing, grafting, spendthrift rule of the Romanoffs, befriended by Mr. Root in the Rudowitz and Pouren cases, that plunged the Russian government into debt

Farmers Ask Fair Deal; They Don't Need Advice

By A. C. TOWNLEY.

The farmers of America can double their crops this year; they can grow ten times as much food next year as they ever grew in any year before, and they don't need any advice to do this—they need a fair deal!

It is up to the United States government whether this year's crops shall be large or small.

This is what the government must do to get all this foodstuff:

Take over the packing system. Take over the packing plants, canneries, flour mills, warehouses, elevators and storage plants.

Take over the idle land held by speculating land holders, and distribute it among the hundreds of thousands of farmers who will make this land productive.

Loan the farmers money with which to buy seed, equipment and labor.

The social revolution will set every parasite to work and every wage-slave free.

Capitalism has had its day; tomorrow belongs to Socialism.

The slave who is content is ready for the undertaker.

Capitalism and private ownership are breaking down all along the line. Socialism and collective ownership are inevitable.

Billions for human slaughter but not a dollar for the desperate working women who are rioting in the streets for bread for their starving children.

Now is the time to join the Socialist Party and to count one in the only war in which the workers will ever be victorious, the war against war and against the system that breeds war.

Catherine Breshkovskaya, the grand old heroine of the Russian revolution, is now at liberty after more than 43 years of relentless persecution and exile. All hail to this grand old warrior of the revolution! Her name will forever be an inspiration to the toiling masses struggling for emancipation.

International Socialist Conference At Stockholm

Preliminary sessions of the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm, Sweden, are now being held. The discussion of peace terms seems to be occupying the attention of the delegates in attendance.

According to cable reports, when Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, answered questions on the program which so far as it has been formulated calls for peace without indemnities, said: "It is understood that Belgium must be re-established and that its material losses must be made good. We do not look on that as in demony."

This view, it is said, is shared by all members who have participated in the conference, according to Hjalmar Branting, of Sweden, who has been chosen to preside over the preliminary sessions.

Before the opening of the conference, Pieter Troelstra, Dutch Social-

ist, denied the meeting was inspired by Germans.

"We are not working for a separate peace and do not desire it," he said. "What we want is universal peace, and we believe the time has come when there is a chance of achieving it. We are most optimistic as to the outlook."

The Dutch delegation to the conference has addressed an appeal to socialist parties throughout the world, asking for support.

"The thought of peace is growing everywhere," says the appeal. "Every day that the war continues increases the suffering of the peoples, the hecatombs of the victims and the billions of debt. The situation is becoming intolerable and you should ask for peace terms. Meanwhile an immediate agreement between the socialist parties of all countries is necessary in order that internationalism may again develop its strength."

By a vote of 3,557 to 4,210 the Argentine Socialist Party in convention rejected the executive committee's report scorning Germany's U-Boat war and recommending arming of ships. A declaration for absolute neutrality was adopted.

Exposure Helps

Stirred by the terrific exposure of conditions in army camps made in last week's American Socialist and in certain medical journals, the War Department has taken sudden and stringent action to clean up the camps. Official announcement was made by the war council May 7th, that a proscribed zone is to be fixed around every camp, and liquor and prostitutes are to be kept away from the men. Recreations, games, athletics and similar clean sports are to be organized and provided for leisure hours.

"This decision," says the announcement, "was reached after an exhaustive study of the European armies."

Nothing was said in press dispatches about the study of conditions in the American army camps, as revealed by the last week's article.

Publicity in this case brought an instantaneous and thorough promise of reform. Yet this is the sort of publicity which the espionage and censorship bill aims to suppress.

Back The American Socialist! It will never cease to make the fight of the people against militarism and all its attendant horrors. Strengthen its hands! Extend its circle of readers! Get subscribers!

We Don't Know!

"What shall we do now?" ask the young men of the nation, who have been voted to be food for cannon.

"What shall our answer be to this attempt to conscript us?" they ask.

It is the biggest question before the fathers and mothers, the sons and daughters of the nation today.

With the day of doom yet a while off, the answer from those questioned usually comes, "We don't know!"

But the young men, facing the specter of conscription day and night, night and day, every hour, every minute, every second, must have an answer.

So they work out the answer themselves.

Said two young men, with the smile of triumphant youth upon their faces:

"We'll not do a thing. We have not been consulted about this war. We do not know there is a war. We cannot understand the language of those who talk war. We cannot hear when we are called. The war's appeal will find us in no response. We'll not go forth to murder."

Having thus decided, after weighing all the consequences, these two youths wait on with indifference, calm in the knowledge that their decision is right, prepared for passive resistance.

What will the government do with them?

The Rev. Thomas E. Sherman, son of the Civil War general who charged that, "War Is Hell," goes his father one better by claiming that, "War Is Worse Than Hell!"

Patriotic Plutus

J. Ogden Armour Heads Nine Financiers Who Will SEND Volunteers To France.

We rubbed our eyes twice and then read that headline again. But we were not mistaken. The financial pirates of Chicago were really planning to send an army to France. No, thank you, they are not going themselves.

This must be an admission that, in addition to the failure of the volunteer campaign for this war, the effort to conscript will also fall by the wayside. So the food profiteers and the money kings are planning to raise a paid army of professional soldiers.

They ought to succeed to some extent. They already have the names of thousands of members of a Hessian army that they call out in every strike. Since Armour and his kind do not want to go to France and fight for the right to make profits out of the war, they will no doubt be able to find sufficient substitutes in their own standing army of strikebreakers.

We can only say "Amen" if Armour will send every strikebreaker, every gunman, every hired thug and assassin used in every struggle of labor to the front in France. We are sure no others will volunteer.

If in addition we could only send the Arrows, Morgans, Rockefellers, etc., etc., along with them, then the people might have a chance to really rule this country in their own behalf.

Funds To Fight War!

Money is necessary to carry on War. Money is also necessary to carry on a War against War. We must have \$20,000 immediately to give wide circulation to the manifesto and war program adopted by the recent National Convention.

Workers Prepared With Spirit Of Determination

BULLETIN.

As we go to press word comes that Thomas H. Tracy has been found "not guilty." This probably means that all of the others indicted as a result of the Everett conspiracy will also be free.

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH.

The end is now in sight of the case of Thomas H. Tracy, the workingman charged with murder by the lumber trust of the Pacific Northwest, in the trials growing out of Everett's Bloody Sunday.

The result of his case will soon be known to the workers of America and from the result we may judge the probable fate of the other 72 workingmen awaiting trial on a similar charge.

Facer For Prosecutor Black!

It has been the effort of the Prosecution to prove that there was a conspiracy on the part of the men who went to Everett and that they had planned an armed expedition. So far, the State has failed lamentably in this.

During the cross-examination of Abraham Wimborne, a boy of 23, the Prosecuting Attorney, Lloyd Black, endeavoring to trip up the boy by giving an erroneous implication to the word "prepared," asked him, "So you came prepared, did you?"

Armed Only With Determination!

This was Wimborne's answer: "When I say 'prepared' I mean they were armed with the spirit of determination! Don't misunderstand my words, Mr. Black! I meant they were determined to uphold their rights with all their feels strength; that is, I never really believed that such outrages and brutalities as those of Everett were possible under the Stars and Stripes, and so did not believe that anything but determination was necessary. So don't infer anything else, Mr. Black, because I never meant to imply anything else!"

Organization Road To Power.

Whereupon the discomfited Black asked:

"Were you prepared for action?"

"Yes!" said the boy, "Prepared to go to jail if necessary to get publicity. There were people in Everett who would refuse the rights of workers to tell their class brothers that there was a way whereby little children could get enough food and good education. How? By organizing into industrial unions, was what we meant, sir. We don't believe in bloodshed; thuggery is not our method. We leave that to Commercial Clubs."

After that Mr. Black appeared to have become a very chastened person.

It is the glory of the revolutionary Socialist that in his lexicon there is no such word as defeat.

MILLS ON THE MOONEY CASE.

Do you wish to hear all about the Mooney Case by an authorized spokesman straight from California?

Walter Thomas Mills is in the East and is giving his whole time to the case of the defense. He has spoken to many unions and to several great mass meetings. In St. Louis, Mo., he addressed 10,000 people at the Coliseum, and to 4,000 packed into the Arcadia, with a 2,000 overflow at Detroit, Mich.

The International Workers' Defense League of San Francisco, Cal., has the prosecution broken down, and must be supported in its fight to a finish to send to prison those who tried by bribery and fraud to hang the enemies of exploitation.

If you wish visit and an address from Mills and are ready to help in this defense, write or wire him at 451 West 43rd St., Chicago, Ill.

VOICES SINCERE APPROVAL.

Let me here voice my sincere approval of the courage and loyalty to principle shown in the columns of The American Socialist. It comes to one as a bright ray of light thru the darkness of a starless night, bringing hope and a new faith in the early coming of that dawn which now seems so sure,—Francis Harris, Salt Lake City, Utah.

The anti-war Socialists of Germany are pointing with pride to the results in the recent election to fill the vacancy in the Prussian Legislature caused by the government imprisoning Karl Liebknecht as sufficient proof that the so-called leaders who backed the Kaiser's war policy have forfeited the respect and support of the rank and file of the workers. In the third class ballot electors are chosen who in turn formally name the party candidate who is to sit in the Legislature, just as we used to select our United States Senators. Out of 268 electors Mehring, the anti-war Socialist, received 218, a Progressive candidate secured 60, Brunner, the "government" Socialist, won 6 electors and two were independent. That is what the Socialists in at least one district in Berlin think of the war "patriots."

An investigation conducted by a court in Winnipeg, Man., has revealed the fact that a Socialist candidate for City Council was deliberately robbed of the election recently held. The judge who probed into the scandal has made a report in which the old party bosses are unmercifully scored as ballot-box stuffers, demands that the crooks be punished and also denounced the boss-ruled City Council for encouraging the theft and defying the will of the people. The court decision has created a furor, and whether the Socialist candidate finally secures his seat or not, the working class movement will be greatly benefited, and before long Winnipeg will dump the whole corrupt bunch and place honest people in charge of government.

Death March Interrupted In San Francisco--Mooney Will Not Hang

By WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

HERE in San Francisco is a cause, a conspiracy, a crime, a conviction, a collapse and now a struggle for a resurrection.

For more than a dozen years the Pacific Coast has been engaged in a labor war.

Here is the cause: Organized labor had become so strong that it was having an effective voice in fixing the terms of employment.

There, as everywhere, there is no possible middle ground on which there can be established a permanent peace with real power both in the hands of the workers and their exploiters. Whichever side wins a partial mastery will seek to extend its power until all is won,—that is, until labor is made utterly helpless or until the exploiters have lost all power to exploit.

Any struggle between the workers and the exploiters is necessarily a labor war but when either side captures and uses the civil authorities as a factor in the struggle, then resistance becomes impossible or civil war is threatened and a truce must follow or disorder becomes inevitable.

Fury Follows Truce.

In San Francisco when the Panama Exposition was to be held, a truce was arranged while the exposition was in course of construction and as long as the exposition lasted. When it was over the fight was again resumed with more than its former fury.

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce had assumed to be the controlling spokesman and the directing authority in practically every matter of public importance in that city. In the matter of this labor war, it appointed a Law and Order Committee from its own members and raised a fighting fund with the expressed purpose, so stated in their own publications, of breaking the power of organized labor to have any further share in fixing the terms or conditions of employment. The open shop was to be established in every line of employment.

For the purposes of this battle, the Chamber of Commerce raised a corruption fund of a million dollars. In its own publications it boasts of this million dollar fund and of the purpose for which it has been provided.

How is it known that this fund is provided for corrupt purposes? For the purpose of reaching and informing the general public on any matter in that city, there can be no possible use for this vast sum. In their public meetings and in their published matter, they have threatened the revival of the old time vigilance committees and old time hanging bees.

This vast sum could not have been used in any open and honest campaign of any sort. The very existence of the fund in the face of these declarations is proof of its improper character.

Make War On Labor.

With this great slush fund, this San Francisco Chamber of Commerce proceeded by bluff, by boycott, by bribery, by bludgeon and by riot and murder to make war on labor and to establish by these means, the open shop in the whole West Coast country.

In the midst of this war, there was an explosion on a side street near a passing parade. Ten people, none of them in the parade, were killed and a large number wounded. Five persons were arrested, everyone of whom was at that time actively engaged in behalf of labor, in the various struggles then going on, all of which had been incited and supported by the Chamber of Commerce in behalf of the exploiters.

It has now been established that these arrests were supported, not by testimony at hand at the time of the arrests, but by testimony secured by fraud and bribery long after the arrests. The fact that no effort was made to follow up clews that might have led to the arrest of the guilty parties who are still at liberty and unsought for by the prosecution and the further facts that the explosion took place on a side street and against a building belonging to the Southern Pacific Railway whose officers are most active in the Chamber of Commerce, while such an explosion could only harm labor and strengthen the hands of the Chamber of Com-

merce,—because of these facts it has been thought by many that not only has the prosecution been shown to be a "frame-up" but possibly the appalling crime itself, is a part of the campaign of "dynamite planting" proven and admitted repeatedly to have been a part of the exploiters side in this West Coast industrial

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X-RAYS

By JOHN M. WORK.

"**H**E KEPT us out of war!"
Is it necessary to rub it in?

ANNA Strunsky Walling is to be congratulated on the earnest and vigorous letter in which she publicly repudiated a certain statement favoring war, to which it seems that her name had been signed without her consent.

If the others whose names appear as signers of the document could make a similar repudiation they would rise a long distance in our estimation.

IT IS to be regretted that the International Socialist Bureau set the date for the international Socialist conference at Stockholm so early that it is impossible for a representative of the Socialist Party of this country to reach there in time for the meeting.

We should have a representative there by all means.

The war has progressed to such a stage that the peoples of all the belligerent nations are thoroughly sick of it. They want peace, and they want it very much. There is therefore a probability that the conference, if representative, might actually accomplish something. As the United States is now one of the belligerents, a representative from this country might be able to be of signal service to the cause of international Socialism and universal peace. Indeed, it would be well if we could not only send a representative to the conference, but also keep him in Europe or the purpose of helping to carry out the plans made by the conference, and let him stay right on the job until peace materializes.

* * * *

IHAD heard of only one lone war fan who has had a foolish dream to the effect that the Socialists, by opposing the war, are helping the enemy.

If you have anything like that in your system, better get it out right away.

There is no one in the United States who is as much opposed to the German autocracy as we Socialists are. Our ruling class, which has plunged us into war, is not opposed to the German autocracy. Its opposition is mere pretense. A mere talking point. But the Socialists of the United States are very sincerely opposed to the German autocracy, and also to the autocracies and ruling classes in all other nations, including our own.

We realize that the news we get from Europe may not be authentic. But, if it is true that the German Socialists are making energetic efforts to overthrow the German autocracy, then our sympathies are most decidedly with the German Socialists in that effort. More strength to them.

Meanwhile, our struggle is against the ruling class here at home.

The capitalist class of the United States is one of the most subtilly cruel and domineering ruling classes of the world. It

is liberally brought on the war for its own selfish benefit. If it could use the war for the purpose of getting us to surrender our principles, certainly its triumph would be great and its gorged and greedy career would be prolonged.

We are not foolish enough to do this. Of all things, the mere possibility that some one may purposely misunderstand our views shall not swerve us from the right road. If you think should, you had better sit down and give the matter further very thoughtful consideration.

* * * *

SPITE of the fact that we are against the war, the visit of essrs. Balfour, Joffre and Viviani to the United States has a certain attractiveness about it. It has a certain international air which is not unpalatable.

Let us hope that the time will soon come when our nation will enter into other and wider international conferences for far better purposes.

American provincialism is folding its tent and silently stealing away. Henceforth we are of the world. It would not be strange if the pet progeny which has thus far perpetuated the Monroe—James Monroe—the Monroe Doctrine—should also dissolve like a dream and disappear.

Yes, we are of the world. But what a fright of a world at the present time! It will remain a world of war or threatened war so long as capitalism is in the saddle. But Socialism looms in the distance, and when it takes control we shall have a genuine world democracy and world peace.

* * * *

OUR distinguished visitors are being shown only what the ruling class wants them to see in the United States.

If Socialists had a chance to show them around, we could show them a few other things. It is indeed true that under capitalism peace, as well as war, has its horrors. They might be interested in knowing that while our bloated capitalists have been fabulously enriching themselves at the expense of the European tragedy, the masses of the people of the United States have been living in the midst of a horrible peace—exploited out of nearly everything worth living for. The depth of misery to which millions of the people have been reduced by capitalist exploitation is a standing witness to the fact that the real enemies of the United States are at home.

* * * *

A SEVEN billion dollar appropriation!

What evil alchemy, what black magic, is there about war, which could induce the members of Congress to vote for such a gigantic appropriation for war purposes? There are many millions of us who wish we had had a chance to vote, "No".

When will the congressmen be willing to vote a similar appropriation for peace purposes?

Seven billion dollars for genuine constructive work in the United States would accomplish miracles. Just think of the number of industries that could be made collective with such a sum.

We Socialists have a war on our hands too.

Our war is a war against poverty, crime, insanity, suicide, prostitution, and all the other social evils.

We believe that a seven billion dollar appropriation for the purpose of making the exploiting industries collective property, order to abolish these evils, and to bring permanent happiness to the people, would be far better than a similar appropriation for war purposes.

* * * *

HERE'S to Gene Debs. May he be speedily restored to

Socialism in Japan

Reports just arriving in this country giving the results of the recent elections in Japan omit all mention of Socialist activity. We have just received a letter, however, from a "Socialist in Tokio," showing that the comrades are active in the orient. It is as follows:

"Comrades.—The Imperial Diet was dissolved on January 25, and on the same day we Socialists in Tokyo proclaimed Comrade Sakai Parliamentary candidate for Tokyo constituency. This caused a great sensation among the people throughout the land, but especially to the Government. A few days later we drafted a manifesto, but just before it reached the public the type was all broken up and all printed copies were seized by the police. This manifesto was headed 'The Socialist Manifesto,' but in the text we intentionally did everything in our power not to allude to our ultimate aim, but only to immediate policies. In a word, it was merely a social reform manifesto.

"Since that time we arranged several meetings. Each time they were suppressed on the pretext of their being 'dangerous.' Even leaflets and handbills for the meetings did not escape the atrocious claws of the police.

"On February 18 (Sunday) Comrade Sakai's wife and daughter, together with a number of our women comrades, started on a campaign distributing handbills which contained short sentences like 'Tokio citizens, wouldn't you like to send a Socialist to your legislature?' Even this was deemed very 'dangerous' in the eyes of the police, and the ladies participating were all called to the police office and 'carefully admonished' never to take part again in such 'indiscreet action.'

"The general election is to take place on April 20. We, of course, cannot expect success in this campaign, considering that our franchise is extremely limited, the electors being only one-fifth of the whole population. We are, however, convinced that our campaign in this election will serve not a little for the advance of our cause."

The national administration thinks the present war is one for democracy, President Wilson might start in by democratizing Japan, one of the allies. The above letter certainly indicates that Japan needs a little democracy.

CHANCE FOR SERVICE

WAshington.—Socialists must plead for a place on the American commission to the new Russian government. That such a commission is being planned, few know, but such is the fact. The radical Russian Government will be made the prey of the capitalistic governments who are at present its allies unless organized labor and American Socialism secure adequate representation.

Elihu Root, one of Wall Street's most able spokesmen, has been made the chairman of that important body. But neither Root nor most well known Americans understand or sympathize with the purposes of the Russian people.

Here is a real chance for effective, instant Socialist service.

One of the big problems is to free Russia from dependence on the British government for funds. Russia has no independent credit of her own, and now she must obtain the consent of the British Government to negotiate a loan. This is wrong and must cease.

Internationalism requires that finances be internationally controlled and administered.

It is true that the

Morgan interests are in on this game,

and thru their influence many orders, to the utmost disadvantage of Russia, are given to the Morgans and their allied firms.

If Russia is to remain a democracy and if American democracy is to be made more democratic, there is need for the fullest cooperation between these two peoples.

Russia stands ready and willing to work with the people of the United States. Shall the Socialists not help?

Rush in your orders for the four-page leaflet containing the Socialist Party Manifesto and War Program adopted at St. Louis, Mo. Price: \$1.50 per 1,000. Send all orders to National Office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

PROFITS IS KING.

WAshington.—The great milling interests are standing selfishly in the way of the public interest in the present crisis. Profits is their animating motive. Loss of profits is their constant dread.

The Department of Agriculture is recommending that the mills mill over 80 per cent of the wheat berry instead of 72 as at present. Thus they would make whole wheat flour, a flour which is better for the average man and woman and child than the highly concentrated white flour which is the only kind on the market today. It is a reasonable request to the millers.

But there are profits. Remember profits and to hell with patriotism!

The millers want to make money out of the public necessity. In the face of a world wide shortage of wheat they want to throw a large percentage of wheat into bins to feed cattle, who can eat other food just as well if not better. They do not want to disturb their trade. They do not want to make less money. Of course, they favor conscription for the young men—but they oppose conscription of their business for all men—especially for themselves.

Ask your baker to give you whole wheat bread. Ask your grocery man to sell you whole wheat flour. Tell them that the United States Government has recommended it. Create a demand. Shame the millers.

This is a bit of service which every Socialist who opposes the war can do.

HERE'S to Gene Debs. May he be speedily restored to

German Socialists, Before, During And After The War

NOTE.—One of the most notably intelligent articles seeking to interpret the actions of the German Socialists has just been published in The Chicago Daily News. It is by Raymond E. Swing, who has just returned to this country from Germany. He carefully pictures the forces that drove the German Socialists into the war, analyses the two factions of the party as they now exist and tries to prophecy what will happen to them in the future. The article is as follows:

BY RAYMOND E. SWING.

The behavior of the German socialists has been widely misinterpreted during the war. One of the government legends in the countries of the European allies is that the socialists, having betrayed their cause, have consistently supported the Hohenzollerns in a war of aggression and annexation. The daring conduct of Liebknecht has been regarded as the pitifully impotent exception to this rule.

When Austria sent its ultimatum to Serbia, international socialism faced the great test which it had feared and for which it was grossly unprepared.

The reality of a world war was stronger, more terrible and more complex than the theory. No socialist party had the penetrating vision nor the leadership which would have made it possible to paralyze Europe with the general strike which would secure peace. The one man wise and great enough to fathom such an ultimate movement was Jaures, who spent the last day of his illustrious life searching French archives for proofs that mobilization was not irrevocable. Jaures, the only German leader of the contemporary German leaders were free enough from defective sight or personal disqualifications to direct the expression of the workingmen of the world in the all-inclusive protest against war and destruction. International socialism collapsed, swept away by the tempests of human nature which had hidden unseen beyond the horizon of unimaginative, daily peaceful life.

But socialism in Germany has not remained the desolate wreckage which it became in August, 1914. Why Socialists Went to War.

Germany had the best organized socialist party in the world. This party failed in the decisive test. It failed because idealism often fails in coping with grim realities. The socialists of Germany are not a solid army of Marxians; they are a group of men banded together by the bonds of a common aspiration to make life better. They were not united on the doctrinaire creeds of class war. Socialism was a movement toward greater but only partially delineated improvement. The emotion which disrupted this union and disseminated the party into groups of rifle bearing, song singing soldiers was fear. Fear of Russia, czarism, graft, poverty, slavery. All the truest fears the group can submit to made the German socialists go to war.

The world, watching the smoking march of the Germans in Belgium, lost sight of the clouds which appealed to heaven against the crimes performed under their cover by the Russians in East Prussia. The Germans saw no Belgian clouds, but heard the cries from their own compatriots. And even before these cries were raised the fear of their coming reechoed in German hearts. German workingmen at the outbreak of war poured on their deputies a torrent of demands. "Save us from the Russian!" "Save our labor!" It was a cry not only for home, but a more specialized cry of man, the cry for his work. It is the first time the world has heard that appeal raised in a defensive war. It is a milestone in human progress that civilization in one of its complexities should be so valuable to millions of men.

So the deputies threw away policies, precedents, consistency, and voted for war credits, voted against Russification.

Undoubtedly the government knew how to embroider the Russian peril with vivid designs. No doubt German socialists feared beyond justification. That is not the point. For they did with true, unbalanced sincerity. I was in Germany in those days and I can testify that to the Germans Russia loomed an ugly, implacable menace hiding the prospect of a sunny future. German women in their parlors frantically whispered about what they would do when the Cossacks reached Berlin. They talked as frightened women everywhere talk, in language of nonsensical, debased atrocities, boiling oil, poisoned food, ghastly, sadistic revenge. And even the intellectuals were not immune from the terrors, for I recall walking five hours with a noted, lovable German professor, who talked the entire time of the cruel destiny which would make it Germany's mission to teach its Russian master the advanced science of administration and social justice. Intellectuals were not immune from the terrors, for I recall walking five hours with a noted, lovable German professor, who talked the entire time of the cruel destiny which would make it Germany's mission to teach its Russian master the advanced science of administration and social justice.

Nothing to adjust—nothing to change, nothing to wear out or get out of order—absolutely guaranteed to last for years. Once they see it and use it,

BATTLE IN REICHSTAG FOR HUNGRY WOMEN AND BABIES

It is left to the Socialists alone in the German Reichstag to fight to better the food conditions and champion the cause of the starving women and children. One of the scenes in the recent meeting of the Reichstag is reported as follows:

Deputy Kuhnert, a minority socialist, affirmed in the Reichstag that in Germany there existed a veritable famine. He moreover reproached the leading classes with exhausting the strength of the women of the lower classes by making them work for them. While the secretary of state declared that sanitary conditions were relatively good, Hoch, a socialist, contradicted these assurances, which he said were founded on doubtful statistics, and cried: "The lack of food from which we are suffering is having a shocking effect."

Both parties, obviously, are peace parties. Both parties, as obviously are unequivocally for inner reform. The difference is in method, and the judgment must be on results.

The majority party, believing, as I repeat, that Germany was on the defensive, came to ask loudly for peace when it was apparent that peace, a defensive peace, should be obtainable. The minority party has always been for peace.

It is interesting to speculate as to the actual strength and the ultimate destiny of these two parties. No one knows to the man just how the German people stand on the division of their popular representatives. They vary as the day varies, as the fight and the hopes and the visions and the sufferings are affected by the unending shift of seeming national life. The majority party is strongest in the Rhine district, in north Prussia, Baden, Wurttemberg and Bavaria. The minority party is dominant in Saxony, with isolated strongholds on the Rhine and in South Germany. At the party convention, in which the last ill starred effort was made to reunite the party, the majority wing had one-third more votes than its rival. But that need not be taken as permanent. The war itself will decide the issue.

Leadership in the Balance.

Should the war end with Germany intact, with inner reforms won without bloodshed, the majority party will become the great popular party in Germany. Should the war be lost and Germany be crushed and humiliated, the minority party would inevitably be given the task of sweeping Germany clean of the incubitances of autocracy. But whatever occurs, both parties will survive, the one to represent German labor, in the daily, opportunistic fight for better conditions, while the other will stand in its isolated eminence to speak out the naked truth, to purge the country from acquiescent, self-complacency with scathing, violent radicalism.

Unionize your industry and line up in the great struggle for freedom.

"Auburn, Maine, April 26, 1917.

"Dear Sir: I have just finished

reading one of your leaflets on the

war in Europe. It is the best thing

I have had called to my attention in

a long time. Until now I have been a

strong democrat and am a member

of the town committee. I did all I

could to elect Wilson. But I am sorry

now. I think he has sold out to Wall

Street. You are right. The American

workers are the ones who will be

sacrificed on the field of battle. The

workers must put up a strong pro-

test now, not only on behalf of the

millions of workers of today, but on

behalf of generations yet unborn.

"Yours truly,

"Ernest F. Bryant."

FREE SPEECH SUPPRESSED.

A. E. Woodard writes from Tulsa,

Oklahoma, that free speech has been sup-

pressed in this city and throughout Okla-

homa. He says that several Socialists

have been run off the streets for</

London Shows Socialists Have Always Fought For Liberty And Democracy

By LUCIEN SAINT.

WASHINGTON.—A few hours before the passage of the conscription bill, Socialist Congressman Meyer London delivered a speech (which no newspaper reported) in which, replying to the taunt of Representative James that no Socialist is brave enough to fight, London cried: "The Socialists have been fighting for democracy while every corporation lawyer in the ranks of other parties has been serving the capitalists against the working people. We have been the fighters for liberty throughout the world. We have been the fighters for international peace. Our men and women have voluntarily gone to the jails, to exile, and to the scaffold fighting for democracy, and it is cowardice on the part of anybody to accuse the Socialists of lack of courage."

Press Ignores Speech.

Here is the pith of what London had to say (the newspapers have not published a line of it)—

"On the 6th day of December, 1915, I introduced a resolution calling upon the President to convene a congress of neutral nations and that the following be made the basis of international peace: The liberation of oppressed nationalities, a referendum for Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Finland; the establishment of an international court of arbitration, concerted disarmament, and the adoption of the commercial boycott as a substitute for war and as a means of punishing recalcitrant nations. That was the 6th day of December, 1915. The Committee on Foreign Affairs had an interesting hearing, which lasted two days, but nothing was done with that socialist resolution. It was a socialist resolution laying down the basis of international peace."

"What do we find on the 2nd of April, 1917? The President of the United States not only adopts that resolution in toto, but asks the people of the United States to fight for it, so that I am the conservative and he is the radical. I merely talk internationalism, while he wants you to fight for it. What does he say? He says:

"We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its people, the German peoples included."

"Notice the word 'peoples,' the plural, which may be a suggestion of the breaking up of the German Empire—

"For the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them."

Says People Do Not Understand.

"This noble proclamation of internationalism is not understood by the people. They do not quite know what the President is talking about. They have heretofore not been called upon to fight for the liberation of any oppressed nationality anywhere in the world. Is that not really the trouble, and can it be cured by conscription? Can it be cured by compulsion, can it be cured by forced recruiting? Is it not a question of a wider knowledge, of a deeper understanding of things? As between the minority and the majority report, like between most propositions in this Congress, a Socialist finds himself between the devil and the deep blue sea. I find myself in that position very often as between you Republicans and Democrats. There is no really essential difference between the two reports. What does the majority report say? We will compel you to serve if you do not volunteer. What does the minority report say? We will compel you right now to serve. You are deceiving yourselves, gentlemen; you are trying to embalm your own conscience. You are putting to sleep your own doubts. You know that you are really advocating conscription, but you throw the burden of it on the President so that you will be safe in your districts. I voted against the war resolution. I

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

By Carl D. Thompson

A comprehensive current survey of municipal ownership in the United States by an expert. It includes some information about the movement in Europe.

These phases are full treated: The extent and rapid growth of municipal ownership;

The case against private ownership;

The weakness and failure of regulation;

The success and advantages of municipal ownership;

If you advocate municipal ownership, this book will reinforce your arguments and strengthen your case. If you are against it, you are equally in need of familiarity with the facts here presented.

ONE DOLLAR PER COPY

Send all orders to:

National Office, Socialist Party,
803 W. Madison St., Chicago,
Illinois.

Today's Barefoot Boy

Hardships for thee, little lad, Barefoot boy, with cheeks so sad! With thy ragged pantaloons, And thy never whistled tunes; With thy pale lip paster still Worked by employer of the mill; Only sunshine for thy face Thru the windows scanty space; From my heart I pity thee! Thou're a boy I hate to see!

Slay thou art,—the grown-up cub

Really is the "Henry Dubb!"

Let the million-dollar ride?

Barefoot, slaving at his side,

Thou hast not but can buy

If the price should reach the sky,

Outward labor, inward fear;

Hardships for thee, year to year!

GEORGE BARTLING.

United States Of Russia.

By PHILIP STEIN.

THIS was unlike the American or French revolutions which were fought mainly for political freedom, for political independence. The Russian revolution took the character of a double fight, both for political freedom, which of course, was the main issue, and for economic freedom as well.

When our American forefathers shed their blood for the good of the future generations they had but one enemy to conquer, the English monarchy. The revolutionaries of Russia have learned that in order to win a complete victory in the twentieth century, it is necessary to conquer the political as well as the economic powers of a nation and on this issue the new republic is united.

Inclined Toward Socialism.

Under the Russian despotic government the teaching of political economy in schools was very limited and only such knowledge on that subject was permitted to disseminate as would not interfere with the policy of the government. The people, however, had their "underground libraries" and there they would study in groups and discuss the works of Marx, Kautsky, Bebel, Engels and such other works dealing with the socialist philosophy.

The effect of these studies can easily be noted in all Russian settlements of every large American city. The Fifteenth ward of Chicago may serve as an excellent example of Russian aspirations. For scores of years this was a strong Republican ward. The contests always lay between Republicans and Democrats. But what do we observe there now? No sooner was that district settled by Russians of the Jewish race, than they put their theories into practice by electing a socialist alderman to the city council. The same effect is conspicuously in evidence in almost every other ward which is settled by Jews who have arrived from Russia during the last decade.

The above example I have produced as an illustration of the sentiment of the vast masses of Russia. The laboring class has played the most important part in bringing about the republic and this class is sentimental, socialistic;—some may be liberals; other radicals or even extremists, but their fundamental principles are socialist.

Constitution Will be Radical.

In this connection it must be borne in mind that the constitution of Russia will startle the world by its radical provisions. As can be expected, the majority of the delegates to the constitutional assembly will represent the views of their constituents and it is safe to assume that they will provide for a government "of the people, for the people and by the people" in every sense of the words.

There is not the slightest shadow of doubt in my mind that practically every form of public utility will be owned and controlled by the government for the benefit of the public.

Russia has many good points to learn from American institutions, but undoubtedly she is aware of the many elements that are gradually undermining the health and liberty of the public thru the concentration of the nation's wealth and power into the hands of a few.

Russia has vast undeveloped areas rich in gold, copper, coal and other natural resources. Would not this be about the most opportune time to grab these areas by our trusts? Would they succeed in an attempt to exploit that nation? No, not in their life. The United States has taught Russia a valuable lesson. Russia may expect years of internal strife between different factions of various parties; parties may split into groups, one group fighting the other on the basis of their differences in their views, but Russia as well as Germany, which sooner or later will be a democracy, will be governed on socialist principles.

Sees Armies and Navies Replaced.

As to the future system of military service of Russia I will not attempt to predict, but here again we must consider the views of the working class, the new generation of the peasants and the many religious sects composing the new republic, a large number of whom I have come in contact with during my 23 years in Russia.

I am of the opinion that Russia as well as Germany, now considered the strongest military powers of the world, will, after the war has ended be the first ones to consider ways and means to abolish armies and navies and of establishing some sort of international tribunals represented by all the nations of the world and where all the wrinkles of international differences will be ironed out without resorting to war; the primitive method of slaughter and devastation by which even the victorious nations remain the losers in the end.

Russia Willing to Sign Terms of Peace With German Republic.

In a recent conversation with a friend of mine about the effect of the revolution upon the world's war, I maintained that it would result in an eventual agreement of peace between the Teutonic allies and Russia. My friend, who by the way is a prominent Chicago physician and well informed on international affairs, insisted that this was an utter impossibility for the reason that Russia had pledged her support to the entente allies and that a separate peace would be regarded as a breach of her moral obligations and that in consequence thereof she would not only lose the confidence of the world, but that she would also suffer severe financial losses.

I fully agreed with his views from the financial and practical standpoint. As an American of Irish descent he has been taught to apply his reasoning faculties in directions different from those who claim to understand the spirit and psychology of the Russian masses. True, Russia would not have been free to-day if it were not for the Russo-Japanese war which started the revolution, and the present war which brought it to victory,

GEORGE BARTLING.

Comment by National Secretary.—"Each member of the National Convention is required to furnish each delegate with a report of the business transacted by the National Office each month". Submitted for seconds by the St. Paul Minn. Y. P. S. L., 16 members. Time for seconds expires August 1st.

Comment by mover.—"Your report to the convention did not satisfactorily take into account the fact that it was well received by the convention. If we are to have a report only when the party has a National Convention will know no more about the business transacted in the National Office than we do now."

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